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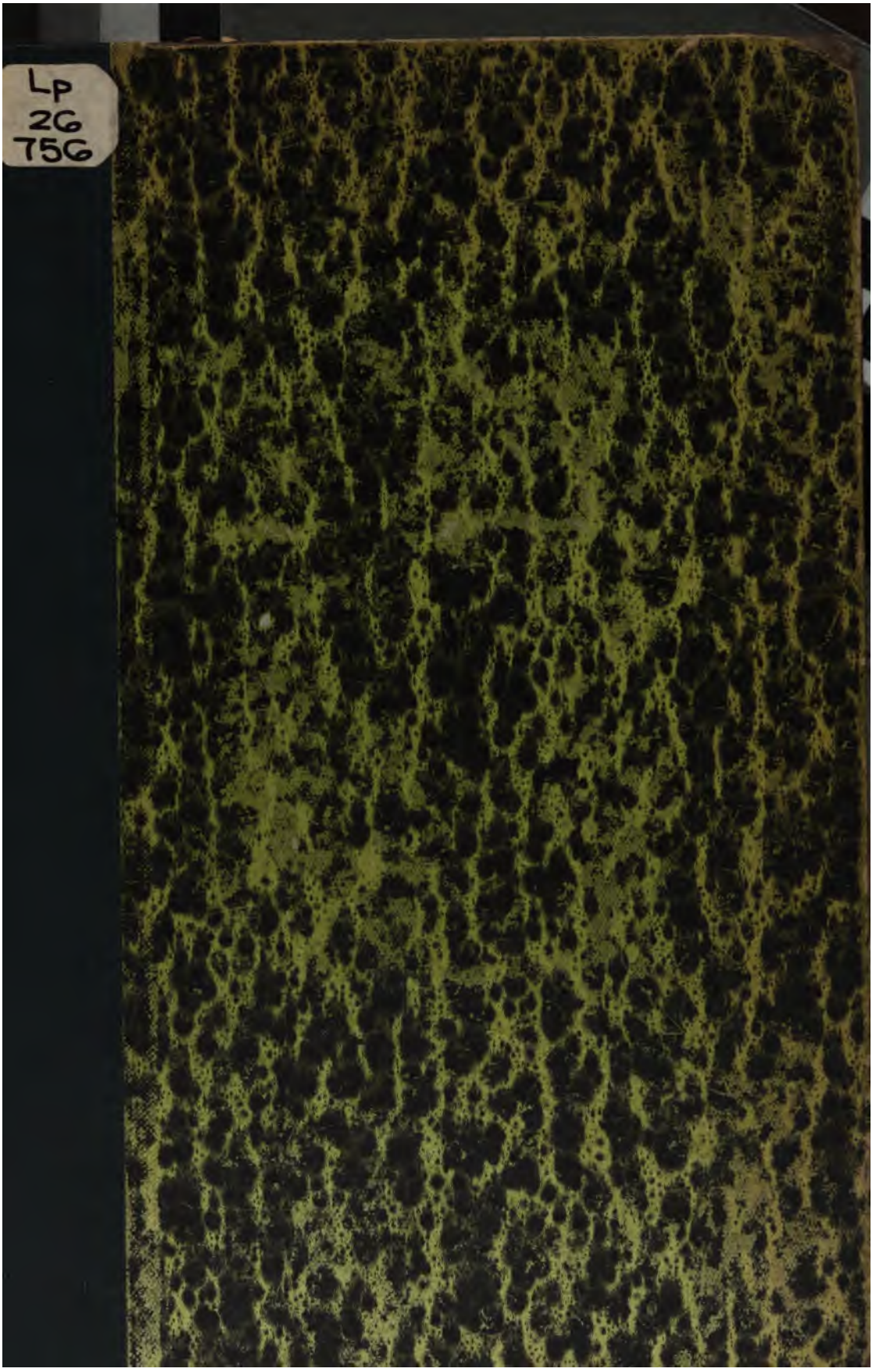

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# The Sequence of Tenses in Plautus

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Edward Hoch Heffner

Philadelphia, Pa.
1917

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# The Sequence of Tenses in Plautus

## I

### Introduction

The aim of this study has been to examine the tenses of the dependent subjunctives in Plautus from two points of view: in the first place, to determine to what extent the tense usage is at variance with the familiar doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses, and to explain the exceptions, real or apparent, to the rules of Sequence; and, in the second place, to ascertain what evidence there is against the theory that the dependent, just as the independent, subjunctives denote absolute time and not time relative to that of the verb in the principal clause. (See below.)

In 1886–1888 Professor W. G. Hale made a violent attack on the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses (*The Sequence of Tenses in Latin, American Journal of Philology*, VII. 446–465; VIII. 46–77; IX. 158–177). His conclusion briefly summed up in his own words is that "in dependent as in independent subjunctives, the tense conveys meaning, and owes its choice to that fact" (*A. J. P.*, VII. 465), or again, that "*the tenses of the Latin subjunctive, alike in dependent and in independent sentences, tell their own temporal story*—that *no such thing as is meant by the doctrine of the Sequence of Tenses exists*" (*A. J. P.*, VIII. 59). Professor B. L. Gildersleeve in a reply to the first two of Professor Hale's articles took exception to Professor Hale's conclusion (*A. J. P.*, VIII. 228–231). In the third of Professor Hale's articles he restates his doctrine briefly in the words, "the tenses of the subjunctive convey meaning" (*A. J. P.*, IX. 160), and calls attention to the fact that his earlier statement "that *no such thing as is meant by the Sequence of Tenses exists*" was incautious. Some years later, A. T. Walker, now Professor of Latin at the University of Kansas, dealt with the subject in his doctoral dissertation (*The Sequence of Tenses in Latin: A Study Based on Caesar's Gallic War*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1899), and

partially refuted Professor Hale's argument. In 1913 the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature (*Report*, 57, 60–62, University of Chicago Press, 1913) suggested that the use of the tenses in Latin be taught in accordance with Professor Hale's doctrine. In December, 1914, Professor R. G. Kent read a paper before the American Philological Association at its meeting at Haverford College, entitled *The "Passing" of the Sequence of Tenses* (*The Classical Weekly*, 9. 2–7; 9–13), in which he examined the material used in Professor Hale's articles together with a certain number of additional examples drawn mainly from the Latin commonly read in the Schools and in the first year of the College (*The Classical Weekly*, 9. 3, footnote 10). Professor Kent protested against the "the shelving of the principle of the Sequence of Tenses" (*The Classical Weekly*, 9. 13). In the spring of 1915, Professor A. T. Walker (*Sequence or Harmony of Tenses?*, *The Classical Journal*, 10. 246–251; 291–299) further discussed the subject and argued for a retention of the term sequence. A few brief discussions of Professor Kent's articles by Miss Susan Fowler, of the Brearley School, New York City, by Miss Elizabeth McJimsey Tyng, of the Packer Collegiate Institute, and by Professor B. M. Allen, of the Phillips Andover Academy, with rejoinder by Professor Kent, appeared in the spring of 1916 (*The Classical Weekly*, 9. 193–198).

The text used as a basis in this investigation is the edition by Lindsay in the *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*. Chief among other editions consulted is that by Goetz and Schoell. Unless otherwise stated, the citations are from Lindsay's edition. Illustrative material drawn from authors other than Plautus has been included, but the examples thus used are not the fruits of a systematic investigation, and have been embodied merely because they seemed to be helpful in explaining the passages in connection with which they are quoted.

## II

### Primary Sequence Dependent Upon the Perfect

In this Chapter are treated the instances of the perfect indicative as a primary tense. Inasmuch as in the great majority of cases the perfect takes the secondary sequence, it seemed advisable to bring together here the examples of primary sequence, largely because of their value in a comparative study of the material in Chapter V. The perfect tense is primary when it denotes the present resultant state from a past act, and secondary when it denotes the past act. The line of division between the two capacities in which this tense serves is frequently hard to draw. Occasionally we find examples of the perfect clearly denoting a present state and still taking the secondary sequence, as may be seen from the examples in a portion of Chapter V (pp. 40–44). The dependent subjunctives are treated in order according to the syntax of the clause in which they stand.

1. In final clauses, including substantive clauses developed from the volitive:

(a) Other than those dependent upon *certum est* and the perfect of *mereo* and its compounds.

*Amph.* 11 sq.

(nam uos quidem id iam scitis concessum et datum
mi esse ab dis aliis, nuntiis *praesim* et lucro):

*Praesim* stands in a substantive clause developed from the volitive and depends on *scitis concessum et datum esse*. Although the infinitives are in the perfect tense, Mercury wishes to call attention not to the *act* of giving and granting of certain powers and duties to him, but to his present possession of those powers. The passage therefore means "you know by this time that I have this duty, which has been granted and given to me, of being in charge . . . .", which is a present state and requires the primary sequence.

*Amph.* 64 sqq.

nunc hoc me orare a uobis iussit Iuppiter
ut conquistores singula in subsellia
*eant* per totam caueam spectatoribus,
si quoi fauitores delegatos uiderint,
ut is in cauea pignus *capiantur* togae;

In this sentence *iussit* denotes the present state resulting from the act of ordering. The principal clause means "I have an order that . . . ." The acts denoted by *eant* and *capiantur* are future relatively to the time of speaking.

Cf. *M. G.* 971 *iussit*, p. 9.

*Amph.* 195

me a portu praemisit domum ut haec *nuntiem* uxori suae,

At the time Sosia says these words to Mercury the message with which he has been entrusted is still to be delivered to Alcmena. The principal clause means "I am here, having been sent ahead home from the harbor to announce . . . ," which is a present resultant state and demands the primary sequence.

For the converse of this, compare Horace *Serm.* II. 6. 34 sqq.

Ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi *adesses* ad Puteal cras.
de re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant hodie *meminisses*, Quinte, reverti.

*Amph.* 869 sq.

simul Alcumenae, quam uir insontem probri
Amphitruo accusat, ueni ut auxilium *feram:*

*Veni* is equivalent to *adsum*, a present state, and for this reason governs the primary sequence.

*Aul.* 743

at ego deos credo uoluisse ut apud me te in neruo *enicem.*

Here *uoluisse* means "I have willed," "desire," which is a present state and requires the primary sequence.

See on *Capt.* 267, p. 6.

*Bacch.* 350 sqq.

exorsa haec tela non male omnino mihi est:
ut amantem erilem copem facerem filium,

ita feci ut auri quantum uellet sumeret,
quantum autem lubeat reddere ut *reddat* patri.

As is indicated by the secondary tense *sumeret*, the speaker has his attention fixed on the past act denoted by *feci*, and for this reason we might have expected him to use *redderet* instead of *reddat;* but the present is substituted by the figure of *repraesentatio* to indicate that the act of *reddat* is future relatively to that of *sumeret.*

Goetz and Schoell punctuate with a comma at the end of 350 and a period at the end of 351.

See p. 26.

*Bacch.* 533

uerum postremo impetraui ut ne quid ei *suscenseat.*

Here the principal clause means "but at last I have him persuaded," which denotes a present state, and therefore demands the primary sequence in the substantive clause.

*Bacch* 689 sq.

MN. ego patrem exoraui. CH. nempe ergo hoc ut faceret quod loquor?
MN. immo tibi ne *noceat* neu quid ob eam rem *suscenseat;*

The tense of *faceret* shows that the speaker's attention is fixed on the act of beseeching. The presents *noceat* and *suscenseat* are to be explained by *repraesentatio.*

*Bacch.* 1082

ego dare me meo gnato institui, ut animo opsequium sumere *possit;*

*Institui* means "my mind is made up," "my decision is," a present state, and therefore governs the primary sequence.

*Capt.* 35 sq.

hisce autem inter sese hunc confinxerunt dolum,
quo pacto hic seruos suom erum hinc *amittat* domum.

*Hunc confinxerunt dolum* is the equivalent of "they have this piece of trickery devised," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Capt.* 266 sq.

nunc senex est in tostrina, nunc iam cultros adtinet.
ne id quidem, inuolucre inicere, uoluit, uestem ut ne *inquinet.*

*Inuolucre* . . . . *uoluit* . . . . is equivalent to "he has no napkin on him to prevent staining," a present state, which demands the primary sequence. *Nunc, nunc iam* enhance the intensity of the present state.

See on *Aul.* 743, p. 4.

*Capt.* 378 sqq.

nunc ita conuenit inter me atque hunc, Tyndare,
ut tu aestumatum in Alidem *mittam* ad patrem,
si non rebitas huc, ut uiginti minas
*dem* pro te.

*Conuenit* . . . . is equivalent to "now there is this arrangement . . . . that . . ," which is a present state requiring the primary sequence.

*Capt.* 395 sqq.

dicito patri quo pacto mihi cum hoc conuenerit
de huius filio. PHILOC. quae memini, mora mera est monerier.
TY. ut eum *redimat* et *remittat* nostrum huc amborum uicem.

*Redimat* and *remittat* depend on the perfect subjunctive *conuenerit* in the indirect question in 395, which is equivalent in meaning to "what arrangement there is . . . ," a present state, and thus demands the primary sequence.

*Capt.* 837

nescioquem ad portum nactus es ubi *cenes*, eo fastidis.

*Nactus es* is equivalent to "you chance to have," which denotes a present state, and therefore requires the primary sequence.

See on *Truc.* 280, p. 11.

*Cas.* 52 sqq.

pater adlegauit uilicum qui *posceret*
sibi istanc uxorem: is sperat, si ei sit data,
sibi fore paratas clam uxorem excubias foris;
filius is autem armigerum adlegauit suom
qui sibi eam uxorem *poscat:*

*Filius* . . . . *qui* is equivalent to "his armor-bearer has a commission . . . to," which is a present state, and therefore demands the primary sequence. In 52 we should have expected *poscat* for *posceret*, for the context of the passage shows that *adlegauit* there as well as in 55 really denotes a present state, although in the earlier verse the sequence is secondary. The commands of both, that of father and son, are being carried out at the time this passage is being spoken, and the girl's reply is still to be received. The secondary tense *posceret* is due to a mechanical sequence.

*Cas.* 105

praefeci ruri recte qui *curet* tamen.

*Curet* is in the present subjunctive because *praefeci* . . . . *qui* is equivalent to "I have a manager on my estate to," a present state. We see from 110 that *curet* is future also relatively to the time of speaking.

*Epid.* 354 sq.

nunc iterum ut *fallatur* pater tibique auxilium *apparetur*
inueni:

*Inueni* means "I know," and therefore takes the primary sequence. *Nunc* emphasizes the idea of a present state. The acts of *fallatur* and *apparetur* are future also relatively to the time of speaking.

See on *Capt.* 569, p. 17; *Merc.* 254, p. 15; *M. G.* 767, p. 8

*Epid.* 444 sq.

non repperisti, adulescens, tranquillum locum
ubi tuas uirtutes *explices* ut postulas.

*Repperisti* is equivalent to *habes*, and therefore takes the primary sequence. *Explices* is future also relatively to the time of speaking.

*Epid.* 570 sq.

AC. Quid est, pater, quod me exciuisti ante aedis? PE. ut matrem tuam
*uideas, adeas*, aduenienti *des* salutem atque osculum.

*Ego te exciui ut*, to be supplied in thought from *exciuisti*, is

equivalent to "you are here, having been called out by me that . . . . ," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

Cf. Xen. *Anab.* I. 6. 6. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὅ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντα τουτουί.

*Men.* 787–8 sq.

quotiens monstraui tibi uiro ut morem *geras*,
quid ille faciat ne id *opserues*, quo eat, quid rerum gerat.

*Monstraui tibi* is equivalent to "you know," and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Merc.* 667 sqq.

Quoniam a uiro ad me rus aduenit nuntius
rus non iturum, feci ego ingenium meum,
reueni, ut illum *persequar* qui me fugit.

*Reueni* means "I am come back," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*M. G.* 295 sq.

nam tibi iam ut *pereas* paratum est dupliciter nisi supprimis
tuom stultiloquium.

*Paratum* is an adjective here, and the sequence is therefore primary.

See on *Pseud.* 579, p. 10.

*M. G.* 728 sq.

quae probast mers, pretium ei statuit, pro uirtute ut *ueneat*,
quae improbast, pro mercis uitio dominum pretio *pauperet*,

*Statuit* means "is fixed," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

The text of 728, however, is dubious. Goetz and Schoell in their *editio maior* (1890) read *quae probast et pretio digna, pro uirtute ut ueneat.*

*M. G.* 766 sqq.

mihi opus est opera tua,
Periplectomene; nam ego inueni lepidam sycophantiam
qui *admutiletur* miles usque caesariatus, atque uti

huic amanti ac Philocomasio hanc *ecficiamus* copiam,
ut hic eam *abducat habeatque.*

*Inueni* is equivalent to *scio*, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

See on *Capt.* 569, p. 17; *Epid.* 355, p. 7; *Merc.* 254, p. 15.

*M. G.* 971 sq.

nunc te orare atque opsecrare iussit ut eam copiam
sibi potestatemque *facias.*

*Nunc . . . . iussit ut* here, as in *Amph.* 64, means "you now have an order to," which is a present state, and requires the primary sequence. The notion of present state is emphasized by *nunc.*

See on *Amph.* 64, p. 4.

*M. G.* 1145 sq.

nam ipse miles concubinam intro abiit oratum suam
ab se ut *abeat* cum sorore et matre Athenas.

*Intro abiit* is equivalent to *intro est*, a present state, and therefore the sequence is primary.

*M. G.* 1238

istuc curaui, ut opinione illius pulchrior *sis.*

*Curaui* means "provision is made . . . ," a present state demanding the primary sequence.

*M. G.* 1269

induxi in animum ne *oderim* item ut alias, quando orasti.

*Induxi in animum* means "my mind is made up," a present state demanding the primary sequence. *Oderim*, being a preterite, has the meaning of a present.

*Most.* 941 sq.

nisi forte factu's praefectus nouos,
qui res alienas *procures, quaeras, uideas, audias.*

*Factu's . . . . qui*, "are prefect to . . . ," is a present state calling for the primary sequence.

*Pers.* 325 sq.

nam iam omnis sycophantias instruxi et comparaui
quo pacto ab lenone *auferam* hoc argentum.

*Instruxi* and *comparaui* mean "I have a plan drawn up and prepared . . . ," a present state, and therefore require the primary sequence. *Iam* intensifies the present state.

*Pers.* 620 sq.

qur ego hic mirer, mi homo?
seruitus mea mi interdixit ne quid *mirer* meum malum.

*Mi interdixit*, "I am forbidden," a present state, demands the primary sequence.

*Poen.* 772 sqq.

nunc hunc inimicum quia esse sciuerunt mihi,
eum adlegarunt suom qui seruom diceret
cum auro esse apud me; compositast fallacia
ut eo me *priuent* atque inter se *diuidant.*

*Compositast* means "is arranged," a present state, and therefore demands the primary sequence.

*Poen.* 1018 sqq.

palas uendundas sibi ait et mergas datas,
ad messim credo, nisi quid tu aliud sapis,
ut hortum *fodiat* atque ut frumentum *metat.*

*Ait datas* . . . . means "says he has," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Pseud.* 579 sqq.

nam ego in meo pectore prius ita paraui copias,
duplicis, triplicis dolos, perfidias, ut, ubiquomque hostibu' congrediar
(maiorum meum fretus uirtute dicam, mea industria et malitia fraudulenta),
facile ut *uincam*, facile ut *spoliem* meos perduellis meis perfidiis.

*Paraui* . . . . *perfidias* is equivalent to "I am ready," which is a present state and demands the primary sequence. See on *M. G.* 295, p. 8.

*Rud.* 717

non hodie isti rei auspicaui, ut cum furcifero *fabuler.*

*Non* . . . . *auspicaui ut* means "I am not prepared for," a present state calling for the primary sequence.

*Rud.* 927

†nunc haec tibi occasio, Gripe, optigit ut *liberes* ex populo praeter te†.

The principal clause means "now you have this opportunity," which is a present state and demands the primary sequence.

*Trin.* 15

dedi ei meam gnatam quicum aetatem *exigat.*

*Dedi ei* is equal to *is habet*, a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Truc.* 280

ut nacta es hominem quem *pudeat* probri!

*Nancta es* is equivalent to "you are come upon," a present state, and thus requires the primary sequence.

See on *Capt.* 837, p. 6.

---

The following examples of final clauses in the present subjunctive dependent upon the historical perfect are found in the Arguments: *Capt. Arg.* 7 *amittatur; Curc. Arg.* 5 *mittat; Truc. Arg.* 3 *tangat.*

---

(b) Dependent upon *certum est.*

In this section are given a few forms which are regarded as dependent on *certum est.* Inasmuch as all these verbs belong to the third conjugation, the forms here used may be future indicatives or present subjunctives. We have the future indicative in *Merc.* 472 *certumst, ibo ad medicum atque ibi me toxico morti dabo.* Morris (*A. J. P.* XVIII. p. 145) notes that the forms treated in this section "are not quite futures." Durham (*Subjunctive Substantive Clauses in Plautus*, Cornell Studies XIII. pp. 83–84) refers the substantive clauses dependent upon *certum est* to the subjunctive of determined resolution.

Inasmuch as the phrase *certum est* always denotes a present state, the sequence is always primary.

The examples are:

*Asin.* 248

nam si mutuas non potero, certumst *sumam* faenore.

*Aul.* 676
certumst, Siluano potius *credam* quam Fide.

*Aul.* 681
certum est, malam rem potius *quaeram* cum lucro.

*Bacch.* 382
certumst iam *dicam* patri,

*Capt.* 778 sq.
nunc certa res est, eodem pacto ut comici serui solent,
*coniciam* in collum pallium,

*Cas.* 448
certum est, hunc Accheruntem *praemittam* prius.

*Stich.* 503 sq.
certumst amicos conuocare, ut *consulam*
qua lege nunc med—essurire oporteat.—

---

(c) Dependent upon the perfect of *mereo* and its compounds.

The jussive origin of this usage seems to be assured by the fact that we have the negative *ne* in *Men.* 1100.

These words sometimes take the primary sequence, meaning "I am deserving of," etc., and at other times they take the secondary sequence, thus indicating that in the latter instance the speaker's attention is fixed upon the past act. The examples of secondary sequence are here given for purposes of comparison.

The passages having the primary sequence are:

*Capt.* 421 sq.
pol istic me hau centessumam
partem laudat quam ipse meritust ut *laudetur* laudibus.

*Epid.* 442 sq.
uirtute belli armatus promerui ut mihi
omnis mortalis agere *deceat* gratias.

*Men.* 1067
non edepol ita promeruisti de me ut *pigeat* quae uelis
[opsequi].

*Men.* 1100
promeruisti ut ne quid *ores* quod uelis quin impetres.

*Pers.* 496
tuom promeritumst merito ut *faciam.*

*Poen.* 1407 sq.
quamquam ego te meruisse ut *pereas* scio,
non experiar tecum.

Although *meruisse* is in the perfect, it means "are worthy of," a present state, and thus takes the primary sequence.

The passages having the secondary sequence, showing thereby that the speaker's attention is fixed upon the past act, are the following:

*Amph.* 1141 sq.
tu cum Alcumena uxore antiquam in gratiam
redi: hau promeruit quam ob rem uitio *uorteres;*

*Aul.* 222
nam de te neque re neque uerbis merui uti *faceres* quod facis.

*Aul.* 735 sq.
quid ego <de te> demerui, adulescens, mali,
quam ob rem ita *faceres* meque meosque perditum *ires* liberos?

For *demerui* Goetz and Schoell read *commerui.*

*Epid.* 712
merui ut *fierem.*

*Men.* 490
quid de te merui qua me caussa *perderes?*

For other instances of the secondary sequence dependent on forms of *merui*, cf. Terence *And.* 281; *Hec.* 580.

---

2. In indirect questions.

*Asin.* 36
modo pol percepi, Libane, quid istuc *sit* loci:

***Percepi*** **is equal to** ***scio*****, a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.**

*Bacch.* 575 sq.

nunc me ire iussit ad eam et percontarier
utrum aurum *reddat* anne *eat* secum semul.

***Nunc . . . . iussit*** **means "I have an order . . ," a present state calling for the primary sequence.**

*Capt.* 46 sqq.

sed inscientes sua sibi fallacia
ita compararunt et confinxerunt dolum
itaque hi commenti de sua sententia
ut in seruitute hic ad suom *maneat* patrem:

***Commenti*** **<*sunt*> is equivalent to "they have this plan thought out," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.**

**Goetz and Schoell, and Morris following them, bracket 48, making** ***maneat*** **depend on 47.**

*Capt.* 466 sqq.

neque ieiuniosiorem neque magis ecfertum fame
uidi nec quoi minu' *procedat* quidquid facere *occeperit*,
ita[que] uenter gutturque resident essurialis ferias.

***Vidi*** **is equivalent to "I know," a present state calling for the primary sequence.**

*Curc.* 371 sq.

Beatus uideor: subduxi ratiunculam,
quantum aeris mihi *sit* quantumque alieni *siet:*

***Subduxi . . .*** **is equivalent to "my account is balanced," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.**

*Curc.* 608

dixi equidem tibi unde ad me hic *peruenerit.*

***Dixi equidem tibi*** **is the equivalent of** ***scis*****, a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.**

**See on** ***M. G.*** **1097 sq., p. 15.**

*Epid.* 285

et repperi haec te qui *apscedat* suspicio.

*Repperi* is the equivalent of *scio*, and thus takes the primary sequence.

*Men.* 755

sed id quam mihi facile *sit* hau sum falsus.

*Hau sum falsus* is equivalent to *scio*, a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Merc.* 253 sq.

nisi capram illam suspicor
iam me inuenisse quae *sit* aut quid *uoluerit.*

The principal clause means "I suspect that I now know . . . ," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

See on *Capt.* 569, p. 17; *Epid.* 355, p. 7; *M. G.* 767, p. 8.

*Merc.* 344

neque is quom roget quid *loquar* cogitatumst.

*Cogitatumst* is equivalent to *scio*, a present state, and demands the primary sequence.

*M. G.* 867

modo intellexi quam rem mulier *gesserit.*

*Intellexi* is equivalent to *scio*, a present state, and thus takes the primary sequence.

*M. G.* 1097 sq.

dixi equidem tibi
quo id pacto fieri *possit* clementissume.

*Dixi* . . . . is equivalent to "you know," a present state calling for the primary sequence.

See on *Curc.* 608, p. 14.

*Pers.* 81 sq.

Omnem rem inueni, ut sua sibi pecunia
hodie illam *faciat* leno libertam suam.

*Inueni* means "I know," and therefore takes the primary sequence.

See on *Epid.* 355, p. 7; *M. G.* 767, p. 8.

*Poen.* 547

scitis rem, narraui uobis quod uostra opera mi opu' *siet.*

*Narraui uobis* is equivalent to *scitis*, and therefore demands the primary sequence.

*Poen.* 557 sqq.

itane? temptas an sciamus? non meminisse nos ratu's
quo modo trecentos Philippos Collybisco uilico
*dederis,*

*Ratu's* . . . . is equivalent to "don't you believe that we remember how . . . ," a present state, and thus takes the primary sequence. *Ratu's* refers to the same time as *temptas.*

*Rud.* 611 sq.

nunc quam ad rem *dicam* hoc attinere somnium
numquam hodie quiui ad coniecturam euadere.

The principal clause means "I am come to no conclusion," a present state calling for the primary sequence.

*Rud.* 924 sq.

nam ego nunc mihi, qui inpiger fui,
repperi ut piger si uelim *siem:*

*Repperi* is equivalent to *scio*, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Rud.* 1026

mane, iam repperi quo pacto nec fur nec socius *sies.*

See preceding example and *Epid.* 285, p. 14.

*Truc.* 382 sq.

sed quod ego facinus audiui aduenientis tuom
quod tu hic me apsente noui negoti *gesseris?*

*Audiui* is equivalent to *scio*, a present state, and thus takes the primary sequence.

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3. In relative clauses of characteristic.

Some of these relative clauses in addition to the notion of characteristic also contain that of cause or of opposition, as will be noted in the proper places. The examples are:

*Amph.* 176 sqq.

satiust me queri illo modo seruitutem:
hodie qui *fuerim* liber, eum nunc
potuit pater seruitutis:

*Potuit* . . . . means "has put into the power of slavery," a present state, and therefore *fuerim* in a relative clause of characteristic with the accessory notion of opposition, is in a primary tense.

*Asin.* 85 sq.

dotalem seruom Sauream <huc> uxor tua
adduxit, quoi plus in manu *sit* quam tibi.

*Adduxit* . . . . is equivalent to "has here . . . ." Libanus wishes to call attention to the existing state of affairs in Demaenetus's house, due to the former conduct of the old gentleman's wife. The primary sequence is therefore required.

*Capt.* 568 sqq.

TY. tu enim repertu's, Philocratem qui *superes* ueriuerbio.
AR. pol ego ut rem uideo, tu inuentu's, uera uanitudine
qui *conuincas.*

*Repertu's* and *inuentu's* . . . . are equivalent to "you are known to be one who . . . ," denoting a present state, and therefore they take the primary sequence.

See on *Epid.* 355, p. 7; *Merc.* 254, p. 8; *M. G.* 767, p. 15.

*Epid.* 80

numquam hominem quemquam conueni unde *abierim*
lubentius.

*Numquam* . . . . *conueni* is equivalent to "I do not know," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

*Men.* 473–4 sq.

pro di inmortales! quoi homini umquam uno die
boni dedistis plus qui minu' *sperauerit?*

*Quoi* . . . . *dedistis* is equivalent to *quis habet* . . . a present state, and therefore *sperauerit*, dependent on *dedistis*, in a clause of characteristic with the added notion of opposition, is in the primary sequence.

4. In consecutive clauses.

The subjunctive in consecutive clauses is a development of the subjunctive of contingent futurity (Bennett *Latin Language* §360,*b*) where some condition is implied. Thus *hic liber est talis ut quemvis iuuet* originally meant: "this book is of such a nature as anyone you please would like" (*i. e.*, if he should see it). The transition then was readily made to "this book is of such a nature that anyone you please likes it." The subjunctive in consecutive clauses thus takes the place of the indicative logically expected to express actuality. Because of this the tenses in these clauses are used with their indicative values, and to this extent show exceptions to sequence.

The examples of the perfect indicative governing consecutive clauses with the primary sequence are:

*Amph.* 815

quid ego feci qua istaec propter dicta *dicantur* mihi?

*Dicantur* denotes a result continuing into the present. *Feci* is an aoristic perfect, and the primary tense *dicantur* therefore violates the rule of sequence.

*Bacch.* 605 sqq.

et tu, integumentum, uale.
in eum [nunc] haec reuenit res locum, ut quid consili
dem meo sodali super amica *nesciam*,

*In eum . . . . . locum* denotes a present state, "affairs are in such a state." The sequence of *nesciam* is therefore regular.

*Capt.* 410 sqq.

nam tua opera et comitate et uirtute et sapientia
fecisti ut redire *liceat* ad parentes denuo,
quom apud hunc confessus es et genus et diuitias meas:

The principal clause means "the arrangements effected through your . . . . are such," which is a present state. The primary sequence in *liceat* is therefore regular.

*Capt.* 931 sqq.

fecisti ut tibi,
Philocrates, numquam referre gratiam *possim* satis,
proinde ut tu promeritu's de me et filio.

The present *possim* denotes a result continuing into the present and future. *Fecisti* is an aoristic perfect, and the primary tense *possim* thus violates the rule of sequence.

*Cas.* 252 sq.

sed quid ais? iam domuisti animum, potius ut quod uir uelit
fieri id *facias* quam aduorsere contra?

*Iam domuisti animum* means "is your temper by this time under control," which is a present state. The primary tense *facias* is therefore regular.

*Cist.* 10 sq.

ita in prandio nos lepide ac nitide
accepisti apud te, ut semper *meminerimus*.

The perfect *meminerimus* denotes a result continuing into the present and future. *Accepisti* is an aoristic perfect, and the primary tense *meminerimus* thus violates the rule of sequence.

*Men.* 712

quid tandem admisi in me ut loqui non *audeam*?

*Audeam* denotes a result continuing into the present. *Admisi* is an aoristic perfect, and the primary tense *audeam* thus violates the rule of sequence.

*M. G.* 514 sq.

ita sum coactus, Periplectomene, ut *nesciam*
utrum me <ex>postulare priu' tecum aequiust—

The principal clause means "I am in such straits," which is a present state. The primary sequence is therefore required in *nesciam*. Goetz and Schoell read 515 *Vtrum me <ex>postulare tecum aequom siet*. The different reading, however, does not affect the interpretation of the sequence.

*Poen.* 553 sq.

scimus rem omnem, quippe omnes simul
dedicimus tecum una, ut respondere *possimus* tibi.

*Dedicimus* is equivalent to "we know," a present state, and therefore takes the primary sequence.

Cf. with the illustrations in the preceding section, the following examples of the present subjunctive dependent upon the perfect indicative and expressing a result continuing into the present.

Livy III. 68. 10 natura hoc ita comparatum est, ut qui apud multitudinem sua causa loquitur gratior eo *sit*, cuius mens nihil praeter publicum commodum videt.

Livy X. 28. 12 datum hoc nostri generi est, ut luendis periculis publicis piacula *simus:*

Tac. *Ann.* IV. 8. 8 ita nati estis, ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam *pertineant.*

With the foregoing examples of the present subjunctive (or of its equivalent, the perfect, in the case of preteritives) denoting a result continuing into the present, we ought to compare the following group of examples of the imperfect dependent upon the perfect indicative, and denoting a result exclusively in the present. Since we expect the tenses in result clauses to have their indicative values (p. 18), and thus to form an exception to the principle of sequence, we should have expected the present and not the imperfect in these passages. See on the use of tenses in result clauses Lane *Latin Grammar*[2] §1757 (2); Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Grammar* §513; Allen and Greenough *New Latin Grammar* §485 c; Bennett *Latin Grammar* §268, 6, 7.

The examples listed in the section below are therefore particularly significant as illustrations of mechanical conformity to the principle of sequence.

*Bacch.* 1067 sqq.

curatum est—esse te senem miserrumum.
hoc est incepta efficere pulchre: ueluti mi
euenit ut ouans praeda onustus *cederem;*

*Cederem*, as is seen from the rest of Chrysalus' speech, denotes a result beginning in the present. We should therefore have expected *cedam* instead. The imperfect is due to mechanical sequence.

*Cas.* 47 sqq.

postquam ea adoleuit ad eam aetatem ut uiris
placere *posset*, eam puellam hic senex
amat ecflictim, et item contra filius.

The whole context of the passage shows that *posset* denotes a result beginning in the present. Mechanical sequence caused the imperfect.

*Pers.* 172 sq.

nam equidem te iam sector quintum hunc annum, quom interea, credo,
oui' si in ludum iret, potuisset iam fieri ut probe litteras *sciret.*

*Sciret* in a substantive clause of result dependent on *potuisset* denotes a result exclusively present, as is shown by *iam* (173). The sequence is mechanical.

*Pseud.* 1318 sq.

hoc ego numquam ratu' sum
fore me ut tibi *fierem* supplex.

The begging begins at the time of speaking. Hence we should have expected the present subjunctive. The sequence of *fierem* is mechanical.

Since the subjunctive tenses in result clauses are used with their indicative values (p. 18), it follows that the perfect subjunctive, in the same manner as the perfect indicative, is both primary and secondary. Examples of its use as a primary tense are naturally rare. When used as a secondary tense it represents a result merely as a fact without any reference to the continuance of the act. When the writer wishes to represent the result as continuous he uses the imperfect subjunctive dependent upon secondary tenses.

The examples of the perfect subjunctive as a secondary tense in result clauses are:

*Amph.* 431

factumst illud, ut ego illic uini hirneam *ebiberim* meri.

*M. G.* 262 sqq.

nam ill' non potuit quin sermone suo aliquem familiarium
*participauerit* de amica eri, sese uidisse eam
hic in proxumo osculantem cum alieno adulescentulo.

*Pers.* 55 sq.

nam numquam quisquam meorum maiorum fuit
quin parasitando *pauerint* uentris suos:

*Pers.* 582 sq.

nam generi lenonio
numquam ullus deu' tam benignus fuit qui *fuerit* propitius.

Compare with the four preceding examples of result clauses in the perfect subjunctive the following examples of the same usage in Caesar *De Bello Gallico* (A. T. Walker: *The Sequence of Tenses in Latin*, p. 40, Law-

rence, Kansas, 1899): II. 21. 5 *defuerit;* III. 15. 4 *pervenerit;* V. 15. 1 *fuerint* and *compulerint;* V. 54. 4 *fuerit;* VII. 17. 3 *caruerint.* This last passage is particularly interesting for the reason that *caruerint* is coördinated with *sustentarent*, the former stating a historical fact, the latter representing a resulting condition that continued for some time, namely, as long as the grain was scarce. On the matter of shift of tenses in result clauses dependent upon the same verb, see Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Grammar* §513, Note 2; Lane *Latin Grammar*[2] §1759.

In the first three of the four passages on page 20 the perfect indicative should probably be considered aoristic, although Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Grammar* §513, Note 1, say that "examples <of the use of the aoristic perfect subjunctive after an aoristic perfect indicative> are not found in early Latin."

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5. In conditional clauses of comparison.

*Truc.* 292 sq.

itane? erubuisti? quasi uero corpori *reliqueris*
tuo potestatem coloris ulli capiendi, mala!

*Erubuisti*, from the inceptive *erubesco*, means "you are red," a present state, and therefore the primary sequence is required in *reliqueris* in the conditional clause of comparison.

## III

### Violations of the Sequence Principle

1. *Repraesentatio.*

As might be expected from the colloquial character of Plautus, this figure, which involves the retention of a primary tense where the sequence called for a secondary, is fairly common. We find different varieties of the figure, as noted in the discussions on the examples below.

*Amph.* 72 sqq.

siue adeo aediles perfidiose quoi *duint*,
sirempse legem iussit esse Iuppiter,
quasi magistratum sibi alteriue *ambiuerit*.

In the forms *duint* and *ambiuerit* we have *repraesentatio*. The use of this figure in this sentence enables the speaker to preserve the true character of the conditions.

*Amph.* 115

sed ita adsimulauit se, quasi Amphitruo *siet*.

Here, again, as in the preceding example, the use of *repraesentatio* in *siet* enables the speaker to preserve the character of the condition.

*Amph.* 205 sqq.

eos legat, Telobois iubet sententiam ut *dicant* suam:
si sine ui sine bello *uelint* rapta et raptores tradere,
si quae *asportassent* reddere, se exercitum extemplo domum
redducturum, abituros agro Argiuos, pacem atque otium
dare illis; sin aliter *sient* animati neque *dent* quae *petat*,
sese igitur summa ui uirisque eorum oppidum oppugnassere.

*Iubet* is an historical present. We have *repraesentatio* in *dicant*, *uelint*, *sient*, *dent*, and *petat*. The secondary tense *asportassent* shows that in 207 the speaker gives *iubet* its true value. In *sient*, *dent*, and *petat* he passes back into the former manner of expression.

*Amph.* 225 sq.

conuenit, *uicti* utri *sint* eo proelio,
urbem, agrum, aras, focos seque uti *dederent.*

*Exeunt* and *conloquuntur* (223, 224) show that *conuenit* is historical present. The primary tense *uicti sint* is an instance of *repraesentatio.* This is another passage in which the historical present is viewed first as a primary tense, then as a secondary, as is shown by the imperfect subjunctive *dederent.*

*Amph.* 486 sqq.

sed Alcumenai huius honoris gratia
pater curauit uno ut fetu *fieret,*
uno ut labore *apsoluat* aerumnas duas
et ne in suspicione *ponatur* stupri
et clandestina ut *celetur* consuetio.

*Apsoluat, ponatur,* and *celetur* depend on *fieret.* The rule of sequence therefore called for the imperfect subjunctive in these forms. The presents are due to *repraesentatio. Curauit* denotes a present state, for the sense of the principal clause is "there is this provision . . . ." Instead of *fieret* we should therefore have expected *fiat.* The sequence of *fieret* is mechanical.

Goetz and Schoell read:

Sed Alcumenae honoris huius gratia
Pater curabit uno ut fetu proferat
* * * * * * *
Vno ut labore absoluat aerumnas duas,
Et ne in suspicione ponatur stupri
Et clandestina ut celetur consuetio.

This reading makes *absoluat, ponatur,* and *celetur* depend on the primary *proferat,* and thus makes the sequence regular.

The historical present is somewhat more commonly treated as primary, but in the following passages it is conceived according to its sense, that is, as a past, and therefore takes the secondary sequence.

*Amph.* 207 *asportassent* dependent on *uelint reddere,* 206,
*Amph.* 215 *deducerent* " " *respondent,* 214,
*Amph.* 226 *dederent* " " *conuenit,* 225,
*Aul.* 319 *liceret* " " *infit,* 318,
*Bacch.* 291 *gereretur* " " *sentio,* 290,
*Bacch.* 302 *scisserent* " " *auferimus,* 301,
*Cas.* 891 *opprimeret* " " *cupio,* 891,

(editors read variously)
*Merc.* 91 *foret* dependent on *mittit*, 90,
*M. G. Arg.* II. 5 *nuntiaret* " " *navigat*, 5,
*M. G. Arg.* II. 7 *veniret* " " *scribit*, 7,
*Pers. Arg.* 3 *emeret* " " *suadet*, 4,
(Goetz and Schoell have *emere*)
*Pers.* 538 *facerem* dependent on *facio*, 537,
*Rud.* 602 *darem* " " *uidetur*, 601,
*Trin.* 14 *aleret* " " *uideo*, 14.

In *Stich.* 366 sq.
dum percontor portitores, ecquae nauis *uenerit* ex Asia, negant uenisse,
the historical present indicative takes the perfect subjunctive as a primary tense.

*Amph.* 745 sq.
quipp' qui ex te audiui, ut urbem maxumam
expugnauisses regemque Pterelam tute *occideris*.

As is seen from 203–247, 412–415, the storming of the city preceded the slaying of king Pterela. *Occidisses* would naturally mean that the storming and the killing had been synchronous. *Occideris* is an instance of *repraesentatio* used of necessity. What the speaker wishes to indicate is that the act of *occideris* was anterior to *audiui* but later than *oppugnauisses*.

Cf. with this example Professor R. G. Kent's comment (*The Classical Weekly* 7. 77) on Caesar *B. G.* I. 40. 7 Denique hos esse eosdem quibuscum saepe numero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis, sed etiam in illorum finibus plerummque *superassent*, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non *potuerint*.

*Amph.* 1122 sq.
is se dixit cum Alcumena clam consuetum cubitibus,
eumque filium suom esse qui illas anguis *uicerit;*

*Dixit* is historical perfect. We should therefore have expected *uicisset* by the regular rule of sequence. *Vicerit* is an example of *repraesentatio*.

*Asin.* 442 sq.
aibat reddere quom extemplo redditum esset;
nam retineri, ut quod *sit* sibi operis *locatum* ecficeret.

*Quod* . . . . *locatum* depends on the secondary *ecficeret*. The sequence rule therefore calls for *esset locatum*. The perfect *sit locatum* is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Aul.* 550

pol ego te ut *accusem* merito meditabar.

Inasmuch as *accusem* precedes *meditabar*, its tense was probably determined in the speaker's mind before that of the principal verb. On the other hand the force of *meditabar* may readily extend into the present. We find passages where the transition from parataxis to hypotaxis is going on, and under such conditions often the tense of the subjunctive verb in the independent stage is responsible for exceptions in the sequence. The position of the subjunctive clause with respect to the principal clause is a factor to be reckoned with in sentences of this type where there are violations in the sequence. Furthermore the connection between the dependent and the independent clause is occasionally very loose and thus results in irregularities in the sequence. Compare, for example, Terence *Phor.* 933 sq.:

ut filius
cum illa *habitet* apud te: hoc uostrum consilium fuit.

Here, inasmuch as the purpose clause precedes the principal clause, we probably have a mild instance of anacoluthon.

*Accusem* may be plain *repraesentatio*, but it is possible that its tense is due to one of the other factors mentioned.

Cf. Ennius *Ann.* I. 86 sq. (Vahlen²)

sic exspectabat populus, atque ora tenebat
rebus, utri magni victoria *sit data* regni.

*Repraesentatio* caused the primary tense *sit data*.

*Bacch.* 287

occepi ego opseruare eos quam rem *gerant*.

*Occepi opseruare* called for the secondary sequence. The primary *gerant* is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Bacch.* 351 sqq.

ut amantem erilem copem facerem filium,
ita feci ut auri quantum uellet sumeret,
quantum autem lubeat reddere ut *reddat* patri.

The rule of sequence called for the secondary *redderet* instead of *reddat*. The primary tense is due to *repraesentatio*.

See p. 5.

*Bacch.* 589 sqq.

me misit miles ad eam Cleomachus,
uel ut ducentos Philippos *reddat* aureos
uel ut hinc in Elatiam hodie *eat* secum semul.

We should have expected *redderet* and *iret* in the purpose clauses dependent on *misit*. The presents are due to *repraesentatio*.

*Bacch.* 689 sq.

MN. ego patrem exoraui. CH. nempe ergo hoc ut faceret quod loquor?
MN. immo tibi ne *noceat* neu quid ob eam rem *suscenseat;*

*Noceat* and *suscenseat* depend on *exoraui*. The rule of sequence called for the imperfect subjunctive instead of the present. The present is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Capt.* 27 sqq.

coepit captiuos commercari hic Aleos,
si quem reperire posset qui *mutet* suom,
illum captiuom:

The rule of sequence called for the secondary *mutaret* dependent upon *posset*. The present *mutet* is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Capt.* 1002 sqq.

quasi patriciis pueris aut monerulae
aut anites aut coturnices dantur, quicum lusitent
itidem haec mihi aduenienti upupa qui me *delectem* datast.

The act of *delectem* is fully past at the time these verses are spoken. The rule of sequence therefore called for *delectarem*. The present is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Cas.* 680 sqq.

id huc
missa sum tibi ut *dicerem*,
ab ea uti *caueas* tibi.

*Missa sum* means "I am here," a present state, and the secondary *dicerem* is therefore due to a mechanical adherence to the principle of sequence. *Caueas* dependent on *dicerem* violates the rule of sequence. In relation to the time of speaking, *caueas*

represents a future idea, and *dicerem* a present idea. The rule of sequence of tenses would throw both these verbs into the imperfect subjunctive; but by the use of *repraesentatio* in *caueas*, the time distinction is preserved.

$B^2$, however, has *dicam* instead of *dicerem*.

*Caueas* may be due to parataxis, but this seems less likely than the explanation given.

*Cist.* 168 sq.

ill' clam opseruauit seruos <qui eam proiecerat>
quo aut quas in aedis haec puellam *deferat*.

The act of *deferat* is completely past at the time these verses are spoken. The sequence called for *deferret*. The present is due to *repraesentatio*. It is to be noted that this and the following example, together with *M. G.* 131 *deferat*, violate the theory of non-sequence.

*Cist.* 565 sqq.

immo meretrix fuit; sed ut sit, de ea re eloquar.
iam perducebam illam ad me suadela mea:
anus ei amplexa est genua plorans, opsecrans
ne *deserat* se:

The act of *deserat* is fully past at the time of speaking. The rule of sequence therefore called for the imperfect subjunctive instead of the present. The present is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Curc.* 558 sqq.

postquam rem diuinam feci, uenit in mentem mihi,
ne trapezita exulatum *abierit*, argentum ut *petam*,
ut ego potius *comedim* quam ille.

The acts of the dependent subjunctives in this passage are fully past at the time of speaking. The rule of sequence therefore called for the secondary tenses. The primary tenses are due to *repraesentatio*.

*Epid.* 414 sqq.

te pro filio
facturum dixit rem esse diuinam domi,
quia Thebis saluos *redierit*.

The act of *redierit* is fully past at the time of speaking. Hence the rule of sequence called for *redisset*. The primary tense *redierit* is due to *repraesentatio*. This example illustrates the commonest form of *repraesentatio*—that in subordinate clauses in indirect discourse. Cf. *Amph.* 72 sqq., p. 23; *Amph.* 209, p. 23; *Amph.* 1123, p. 25; *Asin.* 443, p. 25; *Merc.* 419, p. 29; *Most.* 1124, p. 30; *Pseud.* 597, p. 30.

*Men.* 453 sq.

non ad eam rem otiosos homines decuit deligi,
qui nisi adsint quom citentur, census *capiat* ilico?

The text of these lines is bad. If we accept the reading here given, the act of *capiat* is past at the time of speaking. The rule of sequence called for the imperfect subjunctive instead. The present is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Men.* 1056 sq.

quom argentum dixi me petere et uasa, tu quantum potest
praecucurristi obuiam, ut quae fecisti infitias *eas*.

By the rule of sequence we ought to have *ires* instead of *eas*. The present subjunctive is due to *repraesentatio*. H. N. Fowler (edition of *Men.*, p. 173) notes that Brix thought that metrical reasons caused the substitution of *eas* for *ires*.

*Merc.* 419

dixit se redhibere si non *placeat*.

The act of *placeat* is completely past at the time of speaking The rule of sequence called for *placeret*. The present is due to *repraesentatio*.

*M. G.* 129 sqq.

ego quoniam inspexi mulieris sententiam,
cepi tabellas, consignaui, clanculum
dedi mercatori quoidam qui ad illum *deferat*
meum erum, qui Athenis fuerat, qui hanc amauerat,
ut is huc ueniret.

*Dedi* is an aoristic perfect. We should therefore by the rule of sequence have had *deferret* instead of *deferat*. The present subjunctive is due to *repraesentatio*. *Veniret* has the sequence

we expect. *Deferat* violates the non-sequence rule, which would call for *deferret.*

Cf. Cist. 169 *deferat*, p. 28; *Cist.* 568 *deserat*, p. 28.

*M. G.* 962 sq.

uah! egone ut ad te ab libertina esse auderem internuntius,
qui ingenuis sati' responsare *nequeas* quae cupiunt tui?

*Nequeas* dependent on *auderem* violates the rule of sequence. The present subjunctive is due to *repraesentatio.*

*Most.* 1122 sqq.

Vbi somno sepeliui omnem atque obdormiui crapulam,
Philolaches uenisse <dixit> mihi suom peregre huc patrem
quoque modo hominem ad<uenientem> seruos *ludificatu' sit,*
ait se metuere in conspec<tum sui patris pr>ocedere.

The rule of sequence called for *ludificatus esset.* The primary tense *ludificatu' sit* is due to *repraesentatio.*

However, the text of this passage is very bad.

*Poen.* 600 sqq.

scilicet,
et quidem quasi tu nobiscum adueniens hodie oraueris
liberum ut commostraremus tibi locum et uoluptarium
ubi *ames, potes, pergraecere.*

*Ames, potes,* and *pergraecere* dependent on the secondary *commostraremus* violate the rule of sequence which called for the imperfect subjunctive in this clause. The present subjunctives are due to *repraesentatio.*

*Poen.* 1056 sq.

qui potuit fieri uti Carthagini
*gnatus sis?*

*Potuit fieri* is an aoristic perfect. The rule of sequence therefore called for *gnatus esset* instead of *gnatus sis.* The primary tense is due to *repraesentatio.*

*Pseud.* 596 sq.

ut ego oculis rationem capio quam mi ita dixit eru' meu'
miles,
septumas esse aedis a porta ubi ille *habitet* leno . . .

*Dixit* is an aoristic perfect. The rule of sequence therefore called for *habitaret* instead of *habitet*. The present subjunctive is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Pseud.* 795 sq.

quin ob eam rem Orcus recipere ad se hunc noluit,
ut esset hic qui mortuis cenam *coquat;*

*Coquat* dependent on the secondary tense *esset* violates the rule of sequence, which called for the imperfect subjunctive in both verbs. The present subjunctive is due to *repraesentatio*.

*Rud.* 124 sqq.

PL. dic quod te rogo,
ecquem tu hic hominem crispum, incanum uideris,
malum, peiiurum, palpatorem—DA. plurumos,
nam ego propter eiusmodi uiros uiuo miser.
PL. hic dico, in fanum Veneris qui mulierculas
duas secum adduxit, quique adornaret sibi
ut rem diuinam *faciat*, aut hodie aut heri.

*Faciat* dependent on the secondary tense *adornaret* violates the rule of sequence, which called for the imperfect subjunctive in both verbs. The present *faciat* is due to *repraesentatio*. *Adornaret* depends on *ecquem tu uideris* implied from 125. The secondary sequence is required in this clause even though it depends on *uideris* which in turn depends on the primary tense *dico*, for *uideris* refers to the past. Peculiar, however, is the use of the subjunctive *adornaret* side by side with the indicative *adduxit*.

*Rud.* 408 sqq.

ut lepide, ut liberaliter, ut honeste atque hau grauate
timidas, egentis, uuidas, eiectas, exanimatas
accepit ad sese, hau secus quam si ex se *simus natae!*

In this sentence the use of *repraesentatio* enables the speaker to preserve the character of the conditional clause of comparison. Adherence to the sequence rule would have resulted in *essemus natae*, which would have been identical with the tense of the contrary to fact condition.

2. Violations caused by other factors.

*Curc.* 225 sqq.

paues parasitus quia non rediit Caria:
adferre argentum credo; nam si non *ferat*,
tormento non retineri potuit ferreo
quin reciperet se huc essum ad praesepem suam.

*Ferat* stands in a future less vivid condition dependent on *potuit*. The perfect indicative *potuit* is irregular, because the verb really refers to the future. We find the perfect subjunctive occasionally in the apodosis of future less vivid conditional sentences, to emphasize the certainty of the conclusion. So *Cas.* 424 sqq. Because *potuit* is a verb of possibility, the indicative here may be accounted for by the fact that it is the regular mood used with such verbs in the apodosis of unreal conditions. The speaker's mind may be shifting between these two types of conditions. See Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Grammar* §597, *Rem.* 3 (a). It may well be that the irregularity in the sequence of *ferat* is due to the fact that at the time the conditional clause was spoken the speaker had not yet formulated in his mind the verb of the conclusion. If this was the case, we have here a slight anacoluthon.

*Amph.* 815 *dicantur*
See p. 18.

*Capt.* 932 *possim*
See p. 18.

*Cist.* 11 *meminerimus*
See p. 19.

*Men.* 712 *audeam*
See p. 19.

*Rud.* 217 sq.

leibera ego prognata fui maxume, nequiquam fui.
nunc qui minu' seruio quasi serua *forem nata?*

V. 217 shows that the speaker has the notion of contrary to fact in mind. The use of the sequent form would have obscured

what she meant to say. The violation of sequence is due to the limited power of the tenses.

*Trin.* 991 sq.

immo, saluos quandoquidem aduenis—
di te perdant, si te flocci facio an *periisses* prius.

We should have expected Sy. to say *di te perdant, si te flocci facerem an periisses prius*, but for vividness *facio* is substituted for *facerem*. What the speaker wishes to say is not . . . "if I should care a straw whether you had been hanged before" (you got here), but . . . "if I do care . . ." We cannot be absolutely certain as to the exact order in which the clauses of this sentence were formulated in the speaker's mind. The sentence may be regarded as wavering between parataxis and full hypotaxis, the order of thought being "would that you had been hanged before, I'll be hanged if I care a straw whether this had happened to you." The intensity of the thought would naturally tend to check the hypotactic process. Compare with this passage Cic. *ad Att.* VIII. 6. 4 *moriar, si magis gauderem, si id mihi accidisset*, where the thought runs "I would not (now) more rejoice, if this had happened to me, upon my life I wouldn't." Cicero had to retain the secondary *gauderem* and *accidisset* in violation of the sequence principle, for had he made these verbs conform to sequence and written *gaudeam* and *acciderit* the contrary to fact notion would have been sacrificed and that of future less vivid come in to take its place. But that would have meant something quite different from what was in his mind. The non-sequence was necessary. If the sentence be regarded as fully hypotactic, we may explain the tense of *periisses* as being due to the fact that its association with the more common imperfect in this type of sentence, caused the speaker to disregard the fact that here he was making it depend on the present *facio*.

Cf. Horace *Serm.* I. 9. 45 sqq.

haberes
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere; dispeream, ni
*summosses* omnes.

## IV

### Apparent Violations of the Sequence Principle

1. In connection with the phrase *quod sciam.*

The phrase *quod sciam*, "as far as I know," is found several times in connection with the perfect tense, seemingly in violation of the principle of sequence. This, however, is a stereotyped expression and *sciam* does not depend on the perfect with which it stands but on *est* to be supplied in thought. Thus, for example, in the first illustration below, the full thought is "indeed it never happened in my presence, (*lit.*) so far as is that which I know (*quoad id est quod sciam*), so far as my knowledge goes." *Sciam* thus stands in a relative clause of characteristic dependent on an implied *est*, and the sequence really is not violated.

The construction is found in:

*Amph.* 749

mequidem praesente numquam factumst, quod *sciam.*

*Capt.* 172 sq.

sed num quo foras
uocatus <es> ad cenam? HE. nusquam, quod *sciam.*

*Epid.* 638

EP. non me nouisti? TE. quod quidem nunc *ueniat* in mentem mihi.

*Veniat* . . . . *mihi* is equivalent to *sciam.*

*Men.* 500 sq.

non edepol ego te quod *sciam* umquam ante hunc diem uidi neque gnoui;

*Truc.* 199

nam equidem illi uterum, quod *sciam*, numquam extumere sensi.

In clauses dependent on *noui* Plautus always uses the primary sequence. The following are the examples.

*M. G.* 451 sq.

ego istam domum
neque moror neque uos qui homines *sitis* noui neque scio.

*M. G.* 924 sq.

numquam uidit:
qui nouerit me quis ego *sim?*

*Most.* 969

scio qua me eire oportet et quo *uenerim* noui locum.

*Trin.* 283

noui ego hoc saeculum moribus quibu', *siet:*

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2. Other apparent violations.

*Asin.* 7 *sciretis*
See p. 40.

*Merc.* 633

EV. quid ego facerem? CH. quid tu *faceres?* men rogas?

*Faceres* is a past deliberative retained in its paratactic form and not subordinated to *rogas*. Inasmuch as *faceres* precedes *rogas* it seems better to explain the passage on the basis of parataxis than on that of hypotaxis. Professor W. G. Hale (*A. J. P.* VIII. 61, footnote) mentions this form as "an exception to the Law of Sequence." However, even if the subjunctive clause follows the indicative, it is not safe to assume in sentences of this type that the hypotaxis is complete. Cf. Cic. *In Vatin.* 2. 5 sed quaero a te cur C. Cornelium non *defenderem*. In this sentence it seems better to understand the order of thought to be "but, I ask you, why was I not to defend Gaius Cornelius?"

*Most.* 157 sq.

Iam pridem ecastor frigida non laui magi' lubenter
nec quom me melius, mea Scapha, *rear* esse deficatam.

There is a mild anacoluthon here. Verse 158 continues as if *numquam fuit quom lauerim* had gone before. *Rear* is logically parenthetical. The sentence may have begun in the form: *nec fuit* (or *laui*) *quom, ut reor, melius deficata essem.* Or instead of *reor* the parenthetical verb may have been *rear*, a so-called deliberative subjunctive. Then too, instead of *essem* the form

may have been *fuerim*, as we see by comparing Terence *Haut.* 1025. If the parenthetical verb was in the indicative, it was thrown into the subjunctive upon being subordinated to the implied *fuit* (or *laui*), because the *quom*-clause denotes characteristic. Cf. *quod sciam*, p. 34. The present subjunctive was required in the *quom*-clause because either *fuit* or *laui* here denotes time extending into the present. *Most.* 89 *arbitrarer*, which is in origin the same kind of subjunctive, depends on *cogitaui* and follows sequence.

*Most.* 1004 sq.

promisi foras,
ad cenam ne me te uocare *censeas.*

*Censeas* is not in subordination to *promisi*, but is a separate sentence in the process of becoming a parenthetical clause of purpose.

*Pers.* 116 sqq.

iam heri narraui tibi
tecumque oraui ut nummos sescentos mihi
dares utendos mutuos. SAT. memini et scio
et te me orare et mihi non esse quod *darem.*

As is seen from *heri* (116), *orare* and *esse* are historical presents and govern the secondary sequence.

*Rud.* 379

si amabat, rogas, quid *faceret?*

See note on *Merc.* 633, p. 35.

*Stich.* 255 *dares*

See p. 43.

*Truc.* 292 *reliqueris*

See p. 22.

## V

## Instances of Mechanical Conformity to the Sequence Principle

In this chapter are treated the dependent subjunctives which follow the rules of sequence in disregard of the claims of absolute time.

The first group contains the forms dependent upon a secondary tense and denoting time present or future relatively to that of speaking, but thrown into the secondary sequence because they are dependent upon a secondary tense which denotes present time (*e. g.*, *Asin.* 589), or else they are by accessory circumstances thrown into dependence upon a secondary tense (*e. g.*, *Most.* 183).

*Asin.* 588 sqq.

LE. attatae, modo hercle in mentem uenit,
nimi' uellem habere perticam. LI. quoi rei? LE. qui *uerberarem*
asinos, si forte occeperint clamare hinc ex crumina.

*Vellem* is a potential subjunctive referring to the present. *Verberarem* in a purpose clause depending on *uellem* therefore denotes future time. In spite of this fact *uerberarem* is secondary. The sequence is therefore mechanical.

*Asin.* 674 sq.

nimi' bella es atque amabilis, et si hoc meum esset, hodie
numquam me orares quin *darem:*

*Orares* in a contrary to fact conclusion denotes present time, and *darem* in the substantive clause dependent on *orares* must refer to time future to *orares*. If the dependent subjunctive had independent tense value, we should have *dem* and not *darem*.

*Bacch.* 553 sqq.

PI. opsecro hercle loquere, quis is est. MN. beneuolens uiuit tibi.
nam ni ita esset, tecum orarem ut ei quod posses mali facere *faceres*.

*Orarem* is the condition of a present contrary to fact conditional sentence. Inasmuch as *faceres* stands in a volitive clause dependent on *orarem*, it denotes time future to that at which Mnesilochus speaks. *Facias* would have been required if the dependent subjunctives expressed time independently of the leading verb.

*Bacch.* 1069 *cederem*
See p. 20.

*Cas.* 48 *posset*
See p. 20.

*Most.* 182 sq.

SC. ita tu me ames, ita Philolaches tuo' te amet, ut uenusta es.

PHILOL. quid ais, scelesta? quo modo adiurasti? ita ego istam *amarem?*

*Ita . . . . amarem*, which is the reported form of *ita Philolaches tuos te amet*, a wish for something in the future, is thrown into the secondary sequence, because it is made to depend on *adiurasti*. Inasmuch therefore as the wish must refer to the future as regards the time of speaking, nothing but an arbitrary adherence to a mechanical sequence could cause the speaker to shift the tense of the subjunctive from *amet* to *amaret* upon making the subordination.

*Pers.* 173 *sciret*
See p. 21.

*Poen.* 681 sq.

CO. uidere equidem uos uellem quom huic aurum *darem*.

ADV. illinc procul nos istuc inspectabimus.

*Vellem* is a potential subjunctive in the present. The temporal clause dependent on *uellem* refers therefore to the future, although we actually have the imperfect, which is due to mechanical sequence. *Darem* cannot possibly refer to the past. Note also *inspectabimus*, which is synchronous with *darem*.

*Poen.* 1066

patrem atque matrem uiuerent *uellem* tibi.

*Vellem* is another potential subjunctive referring to the present. Again *uiuerent* is mechanically secondary.

*Poen.* 1251 sq.

primum, si id fieri possit,
ne indigna indignis di *darent*, id ego *euenisset* uellem;

The text of this passage is uncertain with regard to *possit* and *euenisset*. Goetz and Schoell note that the reading of A is POSSI(*uel* E)T. Lindsay gives *posset* for A. For *euenisset* Goetz and Schoell note that all the MSS except A have *euenire*. If the reading *posset* be accepted, the *si*-clause forms the protasis of a present contrary to fact conditional sentence. In that case *darent* dependent on *posset* is an instance of mechanical sequence. *Vellem* must refer to the present, and we should therefore on the theory that the dependent subjunctives denote absolute time, have expected *eueniret* and not *euenisset*. The present subjunctive in a present contrary to the fact protasis is used in Plautus in *Asin.* 188 *habeas;* 393 *sit; Aul.* 523 *metuam; Bacch.* 635 *sit; Epid.* 331 *habeam; Most.* 555 *sit* (text corrupt here); *Pers.* 215 *sim; Pseud.* 274 *possim;* also Terence *And.* 310 *sis*. See on this point Bennett *Syntax of Early Latin*, I. pp. 273–274; Lane *Latin Grammar*[2] §2075; Allen & Greenough *New Latin Grammar* §517 e. and n. 1 and 2; Gildersleeve-Lodge *Latin Grammar* §596. 2. *Possit*, if accepted as the true reading above, may be regarded as future less vivid.

*Pseud.* 1319 *fierem*
See p. 21.

*Truc.* 138 sqq.

ego expedibo.
rem perdidi apud uos, uos meum negotium apstulistis.
si rem seruassem, fuit ubi negotiosus *essem*.

The perfect indicative *fuit* is here used instead of the pluperfect subjunctive in the apodosis of a past contrary to fact conditional sentence to denote what was likely or certain to happen. *Essem* dependent on *fuit* is put in the imperfect by mechanical sequence, for the context shows that *negotiosus essem* means "where I might *now* be employed."

In the following section are grouped the imperfect subjunctives dependent upon secondary tenses, but denoting acts distinctly future from the standpoint of the speaker, and thus taking the secondary sequence mechanically and in disregard of the claims of absolute time.

*Amph.* 85 *concideren*t
See p. 45.

*Amph.* 464 sq.

amoui a foribus maxumam molestiam,
patri ut *liceret* tuto illam amplexarier.

The act of *liceret* is clearly future relatively to the speaking, and the secondary is therefore mechanical.

*Amph.* 487 *fieret*
See p. 24.

*Asin.* 6 sqq.

nunc quid processerim huc et quid mi uoluerim
dicam: ut *sciretis* nomen huiius fabulae;
nam quod ad argumentum attinet, sane breuest.
nunc quod me dixi uelle uobis dicere
dicam: huic nomen graece Onagost fabulae;

*Sciretis* depends on *processi* to be supplied in thought from *processerim*, and is mechanically secondary, for the name of the play is not given until 10.

*Asin.* 336 sq.

em ergo is argentum huc remisit quod *daretur* Saureae
pro asinis.

Inasmuch as the money for the asses is still to be paid at the time of speaking, the present subjunctive was to be expected instead of *daretur*. The sequence used is mechanical.

*Asin.* 929

iam surrupuisti pallam quam scorto *dares?*

The act of *dares* would be manifestly future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore used mechanically, where the primary was to be expected.

*Bacch.* 645 sqq.

nunc amanti ero filio senis,
quicum ego bibo, quicum edo et amo,
regias copias aureasque optuli,
ut domo *sumeret* neu foris *quaereret.*

The acts of *sumeret* and of *quaereret* are manifestly future to the time of speaking. The sequence in these verbs is therefore mechanically secondary.

*Cas.* 52 *posceret*
See p. 6.

*Cas.* 604

quin eapse me adlegauit qui istam *arcesserem.*

The act of *arcesserem* is distinctly future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*M. G.* 138 sqq.

itaque ego paraui hic intus magnas machinas
qui amantis una inter se *facerem* conuenas.
nam unum conclaue, concubinae quod dedit
miles, quo nemo nisi eapse inferret pedem,
in eo conclaui ego perfodi parietem
qua commeatus clam *esset* hinc huc mulieri;

The imperfects *facerem* and *esset* denote the relation to the past verbs *paraui* and *perfodi* respectively, though the ideas which they denote are definitely thought of as future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*M. G.* 956

nam hoc negoti clandestino ut *agerem* mandatumst mihi.

The act of *agerem* is clearly future to the time when these words were spoken. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*M. G.* 1158

id nos ad te, si quid *uelles*, uenimus.

The idea of *uelles* is clearly future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical. Cf. *Amph.* 870

*feram;* and *Merc.* 669 *persequar*, where *ueni* and *reueni* take the primary sequence though the force of those verbs is not appreciably different from that of *uenimus* here. Cf. further *Poen.* 1276 *redirent* and Caesar *B. G.* IV. 1. 10 Atque in eam consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis neque vestitus praeter pellis *haberent* quicquam, quarum propter exiguitatem magna est corporis pars aperta, et *lavarentur* in fluminibus. *Haberent* and *laverentur* in result clauses dependent upon *adduxerunt* are indisputably present, as is shown by *est*, and the imperfect subjunctive is due to mechanical sequence.

*Most.* 420 sqq.

iussit maxumo
opere orare ut patrem aliquo *apsterreres* modo
ne intro *iret* ad se.

The *imperfects* are used to denote the relation to the *iussit*, though the acts denoted by the subjunctives are definitely thought of as future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*Most.* 714 sqq.

tempus nunc est senem hunc adloqui mihi.
hoc habet! repperi qui senem *ducerem*,
quo dolo a me dolorem procul *pellerem*.
accedam.

The acts of *ducerem* and *pellerem* are thought of as distinctly future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

Perfect forms of *reperio* taking the primary sequence are found as follows: *Capt.* 568 *superes*; *Epid.* 285 *apscedat*; *Epid.* 445 *explices*; *Rud.* 1026 *sies*.

*Truc.* 81 *daret* depends on the aoristic perfect.

For the sequence of verbs governed by perfect forms of *inuenio*, which have approximately the same meaning as the perfect forms of *reperio*, see pp. 7, 8, 15, and 17.

*Most.* 1126 sq.

nunc ego de sodalitate solus sum orator datus
qui a patre eiius *conciliarem* pacem.

The act of *conciliarem* is thought of as distinctly future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*Pers.* 304 sq.

quae dixi ut *nuntiares*,
satin ea tenes?

The act of *nuntiares* is distinctly thought of as future to the time when these words are spoken. The sequence is therefore mechanical.

*Pseud.* 55 sqq.

ea causa miles hic reliquit symbolum,
expressam in cera ex anulo suam imaginem,
ut qui huc *adferret* eius similem symbolum
cum eo simul me *mitteret*. ei rei dies
haec praestituta est, proxuma Dionysia'.
CALI. cras ea quidem sunt:

The imperfect subjunctives are used to denote the relation to *reliquit*, though the acts which they denote are thought of as definitely future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*Pseud.* 1233

qui illum ad med hodie adlegauit mulierem qui *abduceret*.

The act of *abduceret* is manifestly future to the time of speaking. The secondary sequence is therefore mechanical.

*Stich.* 247 sqq.

CR. Panegyris
rogare iussit ted ut opere maxumo
mecum simitu ut *ires* ad sese domum.
GE. ego illo mehercle uero eo quantum potest.
iamne exta cocta sunt? quot agnis fecerat?
CR. illa quidem nullum sacrificauit. GE. quo modo?
quid igitur me uolt? CR. tritici modios decem
rogare, opinor, te uolt. GE. mene, ut ab se[se] petam?
CR. immo ut a uobis mutuom nobis *dares*.

The act of *ires* is manifestly future to the time of speaking. The sequence is therefore mechanical. *Dares* depends on *iussit*

*me rogare* carried along in thought from vv. 248–9, and the sequence is thus normal. *Iussit me rogare* denotes a request to be made on Gelasimus manifestly after the speaking of v. 255. Hence the secondary tense *dares* is due to mechanical sequence.

*Trin.* 442 sqq.

meu' gnatus me ad te misit, inter te atque nos
adfinitatem ut *conciliarem* et gratiam.
tuam uolt sororem ducere uxorem; et mihi
sententia eademst et uolo.

The act of *conciliarem* is thought of as definitely future to the time of speaking. The imperfect is used to denote the relation to *misit*, and the sequence is therefore mechanical.

## VI

### Shift in the Sequence

By virtue of the fact that the perfect indicative may be either primary or secondary, it sometimes happens that one and the same verb is regarded in these two senses in the same sentence, and the sequence changes to suit the particular viewpoint that the speaker or writer has for the moment.

*Amph.* 64 sqq.

> nunc hoc me orare a uobis iussit Iuppiter
> ut conquistores singula in subsellia
> *eant* per totam caueam spectatoribus,
> si quoi fauitores delegatos *uiderint*,
> ut is in cauea pignus *capiantur* togae;
> siue qui *ambissent* palmam <his> histrionibus
> seu quoiquam artifici (seu per scriptas litteras
> seu qui ipse *ambisset* seu per internuntium),
> siue adeo aediles perfidiose quoi *duint*,
> sirempse legem iussit esse Iuppiter,
> quasi magistratum sibi alteriue *ambiuerit*.

*Eant* and *capiantur* denote the present state resulting from Jupiter's act, whereas *ambissent* and *ambisset* indicate that the speaker's point of view has shifted and that he now thinks of the actual ordering. *Duint* and *ambiuerit* are primary by *repraesentatio*. In 81 sqq.:

> hoc quoque etiam mihi in mandatis <is> dedit
> ut conquistores *fierent* histrionibus:
> qui sibi mandasset delegati ut plauderent
> quiue quo placeret alter fecisset minus,
> eius ornamenta et corium uti *conciderent*.

the *repraesentatio* has been dropped and the speaker has the past act in mind. Moreover, *conciderent* is slavishly secondary, for the actual punishing of the offenders would take place after the speaking of these verses, that is, at the end of the performance.

*Amph.* 205 sqq.
See p. 23.

*Amph.* 225 sqq.
See p. 24.

## VII

### Conclusion

In summarizing this investigation we must bear in mind that the large majority of dependent subjunctives can readily be explained according to either theory of tense usage which one happens to prefer, that of sequence or that of non-sequence. What conclusions then are we to draw from a study of the exceptions to the two respective theories?

In so far as the exceptions to the doctrine of sequence are concerned, it is to be noted that if we exclude *repraesentatio*, of which there are forty-six instances pp. 23–31, there are but seven examples (four of which are in result clauses) remaining (pp. 32–33), all of which can be explained on logical grounds. A few exceptions, moreover, would, in the nature of things, be expected.

As to the exceptions to the doctrine that the dependent subjunctives denote absolute time and not time relative to the verb on which they depend, we note that their number is much larger, thirty-eight examples (pp. 37–44), which are arranged in two groups of eleven and twenty-seven respectively. In the examples of the first group nothing but a mechanical application of the rule of sequence can have caused the secondary subjunctives where the claims of absolute time called for a primary tense. The examples of the second group (pp. 40–44) will not all seem equally convincing to all readers, but when studied as a group they give conclusive evidence of a tendency to use the imperfect tense of the subjunctive to denote an act which from the standpoint of the speaker is distinctly and definitely future. Naturally this tendency can be seen in other but less cogent examples. How strongly the feeling for the secondary imperfect dependent upon the perfect was established may be observed in the examples of clauses in the imperfect subjunctive denoting a result lying exclusively in the present (pp. 20–21). Again, in the case of the secondary forms dependent upon the imperfect subjunctive in contrary to fact conditions and in potential subjunctives (pp. 37–39), where the requirements of absolute time called for a primary tense, to explain the tense by saying

that "the modal feeling in the speaker's mind which expresses itself in the main sentence is, in the nature of things, very likely to continue in the speaker's mind in the subordinated sentence or sentences, either quite unchanged or but slightly shaded" (W. G. Hale, *A. J. P.* VIII. 54), is to grant that there is such an influence as we commonly call the sequence of tenses.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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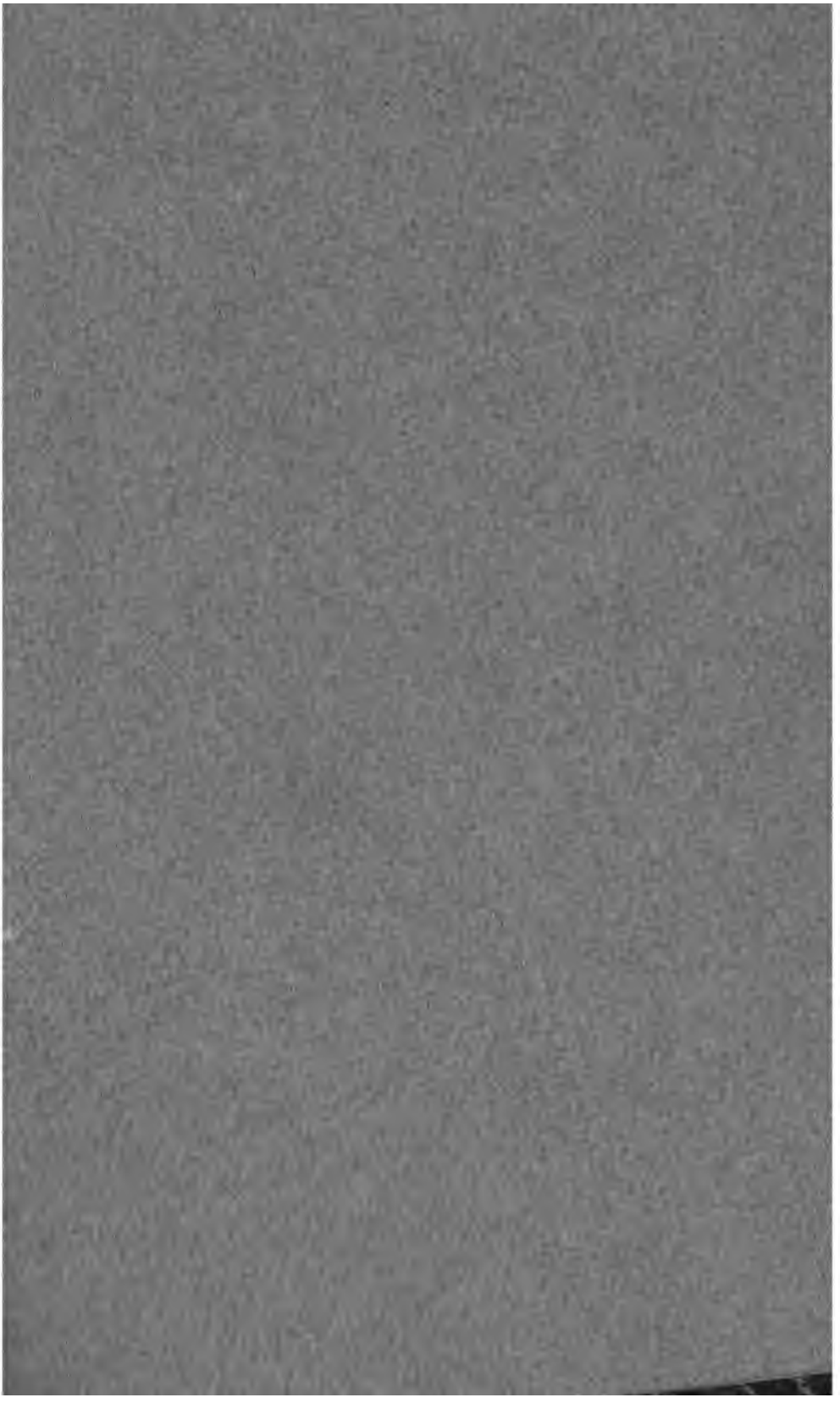

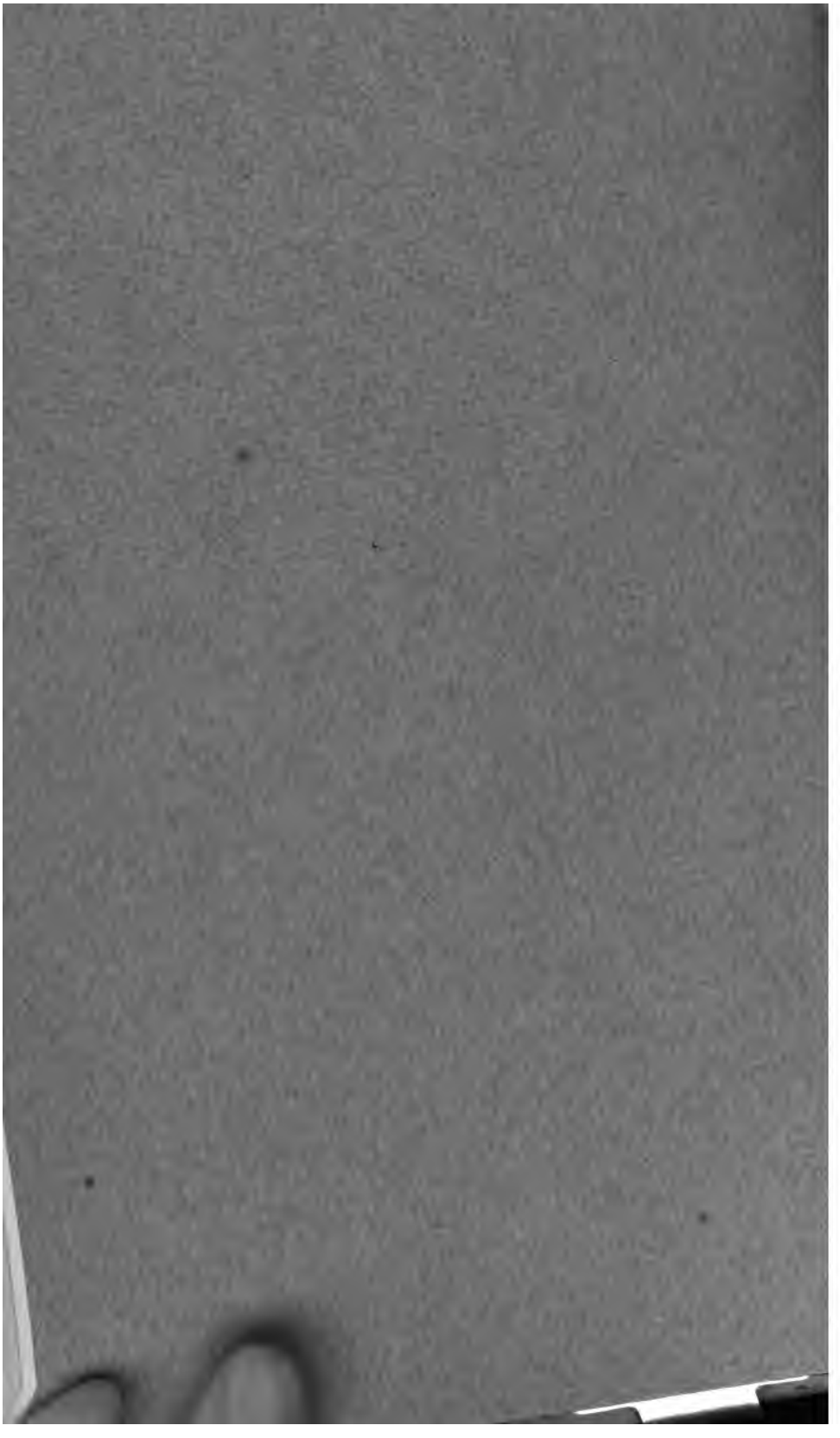

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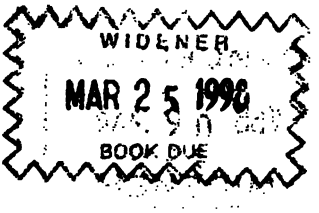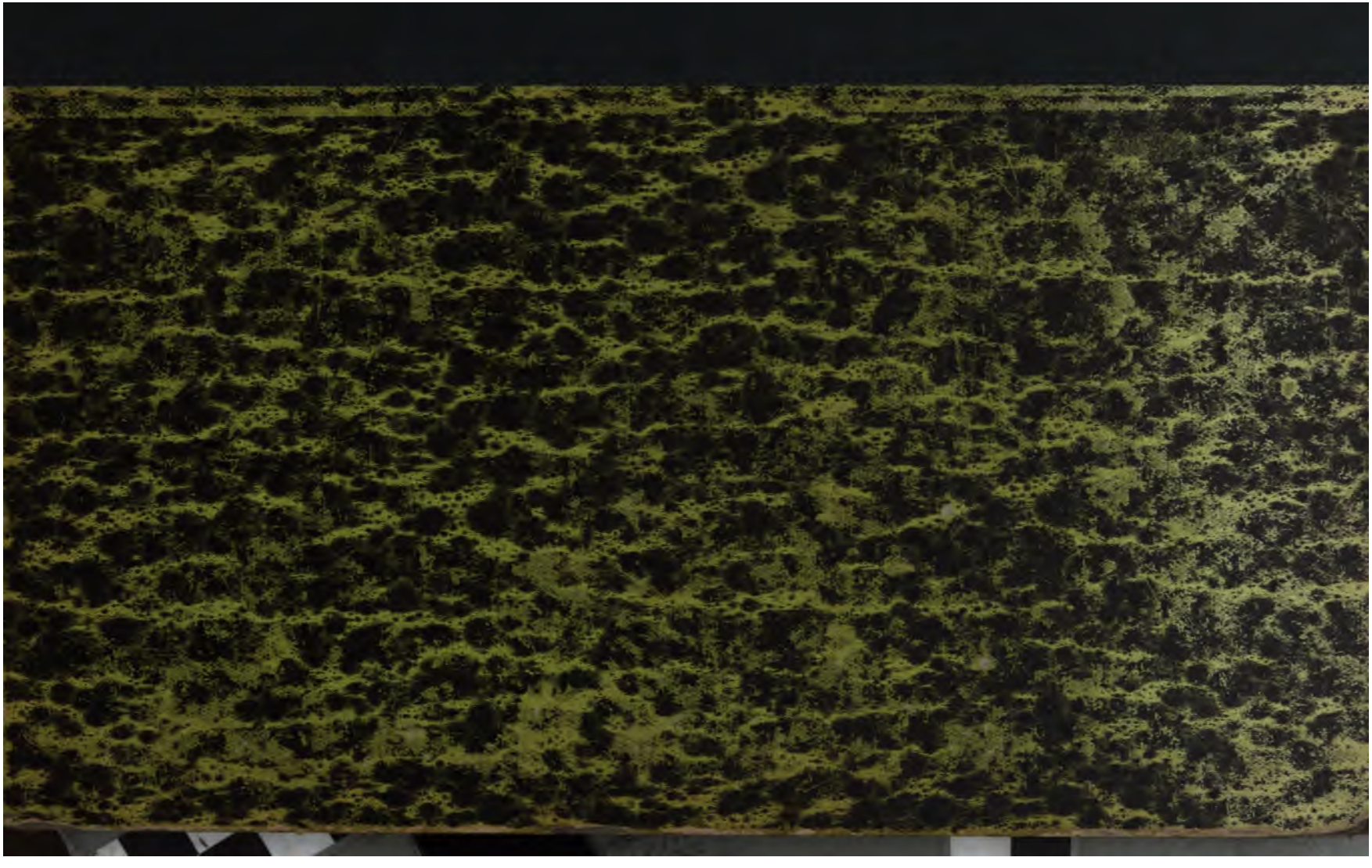
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